

THE DAILY REBEL.

PUBLISHED BY
Franc. M. Paul.

Terms of Subscription.

DAILY REBEL per year.....	\$10.00
Six Months.....	5.00
Three Months.....	3.00
One Month.....	1.00

THURSDAY MORNING, FEB. 19, 1863.

From the Cincinnati Enquirer, 6th. 1.

SPEECH FOR STOPPING THE WAR.
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AT WASHINGTON,
BY MR. CONWAY, AN ABLE REPUBLICAN MEMBER
FROM KANSAS—HE PROPOSES THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
OF THE CONFEDERATES—A RADICAL VIEW
OF THE QUESTION.

A few days ago, Mr. Conway of Kansas, one of the most ultra, as well as one of the ablest of the Republican members of Congress, made a strong speech in favor of peace and the stoppage of the war. The speech is said to have the approval of Gov. Andrew Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, Horace Greeley and other leading Abolitionists, who held a caucus in Washington just before it was delivered. It is a very important demonstration. We take the following extracts from it, which show its character:

HE IS AGAINST REBELLION.

Sir—I am not in favor of restoring the constitutional relations of the slaveholders to the Union, nor of the war to that end. On the contrary, I am utterly and forever opposed to both. I am in favor of the Union as it exists to-day. I am in favor of recognizing the loyal States as the American nation, based on the principle of freedom for all, without distinction of race, color or condition. I believe it to be the manifest duty of the American nation to ultimately centralize the American continent on this principle. I conceive that, therefore, the true object of this war is to revolutionize the national government by resolving the North into the Nation and the South into a distinct public body, leaving us in a position to pursue the latter as a separate State. I believe that the direction of war to any other end is a perversion of it, calculated to subvert the very object it was designed to effect.

THE UNIONISM.

I have never allowed myself to indulge in that separation idealism of the Union so prevalent among the simple honest people, nor that political cant about the Union as a prevalent moral disinterested entity. I have simply regarded it as a form of Government to be valued in proportion to its merits as an instrument of national prosperity and honor.

THE SOUTH INDEPENDENT.

The war which has come in between the North and the South for the past two years, has made a revolution. It has substituted in the South another Government for that of the Union. This is the fact, and the fact in such a matter is the important thing. It settles the law. No technicality in a question of this kind can stand. The war has interally dissolved the connection between the North and South, and rendered them separate and independent powers in the world. This is the necessary legal effect of civil war anywhere. It makes the bellicose parties independent for the time being, and, unless the one succumbs to the other, they continue independent of each other forever. The principle is laid down by Vattel, as follows: When a nation becomes divided into two parties, absolutely independent, and no longer acknowledging a common superior, the State is dissolved, and the war between the two parties stands upon the same ground, in every respect, as a public war between two different nations. (Book III, chap. 17, p. 428.) It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that we learned and profound a just as the honorable member from Pennsylvania [Mr. Stevens] should express the same opinion.

THE DEMOCRACY TRUE TO THE UNION.

The Democrats will not, of course, listen to separation for instant. Such a suggestion, in their eyes, is a proposition to dissolve the Union—for which one ought to be hanged. They expect the question whether the Union shall be restored by force or by compromise to be submitted to the people in the next election; and upon that to carry the country. Their plan is to oppose the Administration simply on its anti-slavery policy. They put in issue the Confiscation Act, the Missouri Emancipation Act; the President's Proclamation of Emancipation. These measures they pronounce unconstitutional, deny their validity and everything done to be done, is purposeless and futile. In addition to this, they attack the administration on account of its suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, false imprisonments, corruption, incapacity, &c., and a thousand other incidents. But on the war did the integrity of the Union, they are like adamantine itself. They claim to favor the war for the sake of the Union, but to be for compromise rather than war. They say very truthfully that the Republicans have tried force for two years, and exhausted the country, and upon this claim the adoption of their method as all that is left to be done. This is the manner in which the politicians of the country propose to terminate this great conflict.

THE GREAT CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

An alliance seems recently to have been effected to this and between certain elements heretofore hostile. The border State politicians are the remnant of the old Whig and Know-Nothing party, who, all their lives, cherished an intense hatred of the democracy. They now unite with that party to effect this object. The republicans of the Albany school, under the sagacious leadership of Mr. Weld, who for long years through the Van Buren oligarchy, and finally broke away through the agency of free-soil, are also band in glove with their old opponents. Thus the great Democracy takes the field for the next great political battle, supported on the left by the followers of Clay and Crittenden, and on the right by the special friends of Wm. H. Seward. Such a host may well feel confident. It is a combination for victory. The elements have been well shaped. Not in vain have the border State politicians strengthened the hall of the Presidential mansion. Not in vain has the discreet Secretary of State incurred the reputation of having become imbecile. Not in vain has the whole Administration suffered the delusion of drifting with the tide for lack of a policy. They could well afford to dispense with the applause of the radicals, while they silently directed that under current which was to rive the gigantic questions, with which they would not grapple, to the decision of another Presidential election. The Conservatives will triumph.

The chief element in the accomplishment of this reactionary project is the war, which the administration is conducting for the restoration of the Union. The war is indeed the trumpet of war, the Democracy not war for conquest, but Mr. Lincoln's war for the Union. They have no fear that it will send the era of abolition. It has passed that stage. The results are now in their keeping. All they wish is prolongation. In the first place, it holds the nation pledged to the principle that the Union is intact, and the Constitution open to amendment through Southern states. In the next place, the responsibility of it being with the Republicans, it weakens them sadly in the elections. And in the third place, its effect is to wear away and depress the slaveholders, and dispose them in favor of conciliation. This war, in whatever aspect it may be presented, is an admirable instrument for them. If it should happen to meet with unexpected success, and defeat the rebellion, the slaveholders will be brought back just in time to join them in the election. If it should fail and accomplish no results, as now seems likely, this will inevitably insure them a triumph in the popular vote. Then they, the party and it is bound one—that the two forces, Abolition and Secession, now in deadly conflict, have only to be permitted to continue the fight long enough to wear each other out, and cause the political waters to subside to their former level.

THE ARMY CONSERVATIVE.

Nevertheless, without reference to the result of the war, I consider the chances of the Conservatives in the election, far superior to that of the Administration. Great reliance is placed by the latter on the vote of the soldier; but, in my opinion, this is decisive. The soldiers will be affected in like manner with the rest of the people, and moreover, will be tired of military service, and anxious to return home. They will be dissatisfied from a thousand causes and

THE DAILY REBEL.

VOL. I.

CHATTANOOGA, THURSDAY MORNING, FEB. 19, 1863.

No. 163.

desire a change. The sufferings and indignation, yet to be engendered by the unlimited issue of an irredeemable paper currency, will of itself overwhelm the Administration party, and sink it deeper than plummet ever sounded. But the Democrats, in my judgment, safely calculated that they can take issue on any one of a hundred necessary incidents of the war, and defeat their opponents by a large majority.

THE PROCLAMATION A FAILURE.

Many suppose that the effect of the Proclamation of Emancipation will so thoroughly, speedily and completely annihilate and extirpate slavery, that the slaveholders will have no motive to act together. This is a egregious mistake. The Proclamation will have no such effect. It can not have any such effect. Its constitutionality is denied. It is still unexecuted, and its validity undetermined. The whole subject is yet open to debate, and final settlement. The Judiciary Department is to render its decision upon it; and, in the meantime, it is to be the controlling issue in a popular election for President. The fate of things will undoubtedly inspire the slaveholders to have more remote purpose than ever. Their effort will not be hereby defeated, but the Abolitionists from freeing the slaves, are of distinguished speculative propagation, but to release him in his grasp of the energy already actually laid upon him. It will redound to their will and bring out every latent energy.

SUMMER HIS MAGNUS APOLLO.

The Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Sumner) who has lately been re-elected to serve another term of six years in the body he has so long abhorred, should in this crisis, point us to the proper action. His puissant oratorical, his great abilities, his loyalties, and his influence for freedom in America, will be of great service to us.

I said, "We have often showered our loves Upon something as dry as the dust; And the faith that is crost, and the hearts that are lost Oh! how can we win thy grace?" The wind waxeth faint; And the moon, like a sain, Glides over the woodlands so white and so still. And you hear? and you see? All night at the last Of that cold and flinty hill— Of that hard and sunless hill.

THE RIVER AND THE THIEF.

They shook their sweethearts out in their sleep On the brink of that beautiful stream;

But it wandered along with a wearisome song Like a lover that walks in a dream!

So the river bled.

When the winds went through,

In the moonlight so white and so still;

And the river it went.

All night at the last

Of a cold and a flinty hill—

Of a hard and a sunless hill.

I said, "We have often showered our loves Upon something as dry as the dust; And the faith that is crost, and the hearts that are lost Oh! how can we win thy grace?" The wind waxeth faint;

And the moon, like a sain, Glides over the woodlands so white and so still.

And you hear? and you see?

All night at the last

Of that cold and flinty hill—

Of that hard and sunless hill.

VALLANDIGHAM'S SPEECH.

We have a paper before us containing a full report of the speech of this gentleman recently made in the United States Congress. We extract a few paragraphs, which we have never seen republished in this section:

Sir, my judgment was made up and expressed from the first. I learned it from Chatman: "My Lords, you cannot conquer America." And you have not conquered the South. You never will. It is not in the nature of things possible; much less under your auspices. But money you have expended without limit, and blood poured out like water. Defeat, debt, taxation, sequestrations, these are your trophies. In vain the people gave you treasure and the soldier yielded up his life. "Fight, tax, emancipate—let there be," said the gentleman from Maine (Mr. Park) at the last session, "be the trinity of our salvation." Sir, they have become the trinity of your deep damnation. The war for the Union is, in your hands, a most bloody and costly failure. The President confessed it on the 23d of September, solemnly, officially, and under the broad seal of the United States. And he has now repeated the confession. The Priests and Rabbis of Abolition taught him that God would not prosper such a cause. War for the Union was abandoned; war for the negro openly began, and with stronger battalions than before. With what success? Let the dead at Fredericksburg and Vicksburg answer.

And now, sir, can this war continue? Whence the money to carry it on? Where the men? Can you borrow? From whom? Can you tax more? Will the people bear it? Wait till you have collected what is already levied. How many millions more of "legal-tender" to-day forty-one per cent below the par of gold—can you float? Will men enlist now at any price? Ah, sir, it is easier to die at home—I beg pardon; but I trust I am not "discouraging enlistments." If I am, then, first arrest Lincoln, Stanton and Halleck, and some of your other Generals, and I will retreat; yes, I will recant. But can you draft again? Ask New England—New York. Ask Massachusetts. Where are the nine hundred thousand? Ask Ohio—the North-west. She thought you were in earnest, and gave you all, all—more than you demanded.

The wife whose face first smiled that day, The fair, fond bride of yesterday, And aged sire and matron gray, Saw the lewd warriors bate away. And deemed it fit to grieve."

Sic, in blood she has stoned for her cruelty; and now there is mourning in every house, distress and sadness in every heart. Shall she give you any more?

But ought this war to continue? I answer no—not a day, not an hour. What then? Shall we separate? Again I answer no, no, no! What then? And now, sir, I come to the grandest and most solemn problem of statesmanship from the beginning of time; and to the God of Heaven, illuminer of hearts and minds, I would implore an ultimate reason on an Anti-slavery basis.

I have confidence in the inherent vitality of Northern civilization. I have no fear to set it in competition with that of the South. Let them proceed side by side in the race of empire, and we shall see which will triumph.

Sir, this war, horrible as it is, has taught us all some of the most important and salutary lessons which even a people learned.

First—it has annihilated, in twenty months, all the false and pernicious theories and teachings of Abolitionists for thirty years, and which a mere appeal to facts and argument could not have taught in half a century. We have learned that the South is not weak, dependent, unenterprising, or corrupted by slavery, luxury and idleness; but powerful, earnest, warlike, enduring, self-supporting, full of energy, and inexhaustible in resources. We have been taught, and now confess it openly, that African slavery, instead of being a source of weakness to the South, is one of her main elements of strength; and hence the "military necessity" we are told, of abolishing slavery in order to suppress the rebellion. We have learned, also, that the non-slaveholding white men of the South, millions in number, are immovably attached to the institution, and are its chief support; and Abolitionists have found out, to their infinite surprise and disgust, that the slave is not "waiting for freedom," nor quining in silent but revengeful grief over cruelty and oppression inflicted upon him, but happy contented, attached deeply to his master, and unwilling—at least eager—to accept the precious boon of freedom which they have proffered him. I appeal to the President for the proof. I appeal to the fact that fewer slaves have escaped, even from Virginia, in nearly two years, than Arnold and Cornwallis carried away in six months of invasion in 1781. Finally, sir, we have learned, and the South too, what the history of the world ages ago, and our own history might have taught us, that servile insurrection is the least of the dangers to which she is exposed. Hence, in my deliberate judgment, African slavery, as an institution, will come out of this conflict fifty-fold stronger than when the war began.

Secondly, we have learned that the

abolitionists of the North are not to be

overlooked, and that they are not to be

underestimated, and that they are not to be

overlooked, and that they are not to be

overestimated, and that they are not to be

overlooked, and that they are not to be

overestimated, and that they are not to be

overlooked, and that they are not to be

overestimated, and that they are not to be

overlooked, and that they are not to be

overestimated, and that they are not to be

overlooked, and that they are not to be

overestimated, and that they are not to be